692 [186] that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsibility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 775 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

● 681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evildoer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

The sixth month they called Etzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Chapter 6
Etzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Citlaltepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Etzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon to such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

Al sexto mes llamauan Etzalqualiztli: en el primero 776x
dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de la pluuja:
a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos [805
dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son 776]
los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado. 785]

Cap. 5.

1 g KL. Etzalqualiztli. g 13
2 A Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los A 14 [137]
3 b satrapas de los ydolos y sus mjnjstros, b 15
4 c yvã por junças a Citlaltepec: que se c 16
5 d hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en d 17 [546]
6 e vn agua que se llama temjlco, de alli e 18
7 f las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los f 19
8 g cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie g 20
9 A parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ab- A 21
10 b scondian de mjedo dellos, y si con b 22
11 c alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto c 23 [651]
12 d traya hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se d 24
13 e defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera e 25 [681] ●
14 f q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque f 26
15 g lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se g 27
16 A le tomauan: y por esto njnguna pena A 28
17 b las dauã: porque por ser mjnjstros de b 29
18 c los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer c 30
19 d estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena njn- d 31
20 e guna. Otras muchas cerimonjas hazian e 1[1]
los satrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan
a la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Etzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchas o poleadas que se llama Etzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia. [262] [786]

En esta mesma fiesta, a los mjnjstros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el serujcio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã alli a la orilla del agua: de alli los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos. [688]

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos catiuos y otros

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[1] Marginal notation: *Junjo los dias aca.*

In this house,[1] which was like a monastery, was the image of Quetzalcoatl. On this day they adorned it with rich ornaments and placed before it offerings of perfumes and food. They said this was the sign of Quetzalcoatl.

The Seventh Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce miquiztli, in the first house, the lords and leading men celebrated a great feast to Tezcatlipoca, who was the great god. They said that this was his sign. Since all of them had their shrines in their houses, where they kept the images of this god and of many others, on this day they decorated this image and offered it perfumes, flowers, and food, and sacrificed quail before it, tearing off their heads. This not only the lords and leading men did, but all the people to whose attention this festival came; and the same was done in the tribal temples and on all the pyramids. All prayed, and besought of this god that he grant them favors; for [it was thought] that he was almighty.

The Eighth Movable Feast

In the sign which was called ce quiauitl, in the first house, they celebrated a feast to the goddesses whom they named Ciuapipilti. These, they said, were the women who died in first childbed. They said that they became goddesses and that they dwelt in the house of the sun; and that when this sign reigned, they came down to the earth and afflicted with various sicknesses those whom they met outside of their houses. And hence, in these days, they dared not go out of their houses. They had shrines built in honor of these goddesses in all the suburbs where two streets [crossed], which they called *ciuateocalli*, or by another name, *ciuateopan*. In these shrines they had the images of the goddesses, and on these days they adorned them with papers which they called *amateteuitl*. On this feast of these goddesses they slew in their honor those condemned to death for some crime, who were in the jails.

The Ninth Movable Feast

In the sign named ce quiauitl, in the fourth house (which was called naui ecatl), because this house was very unlucky they slew in it the malefactors who were imprisoned. And likewise the lord had a number of slaves slain as a superstition. And the merchants and traders made a show or demonstration of the jewels in which they dealt, bringing them forth so that all might see them. And afterwards, at night,

terio, estaua la ymagen de quetzalcoatl: Este dia la 796^
adereçauan con ricos ornamentos, y ofrecian delante [778]
della perfumes, y comjda: dezian que este era el
signo de quetzalcoatl.

La septima fiesta moujble.

En el signo que se llamaua ce mjqujztli: en la primera casa: hazian gran fiesta, los señores y principales
a Tezcatlibuca, que era el gran dios, dezian que este
era su sino, como todos ellos, tenjan sus oratorios en [778]
sus casas: donde tenjan las ymagines deste dios, y de
muchos otros: en este dia, componjan esta ymagen, y ofrecianla perfumes, y flores y comjda: y sacrificauan codornizes delante della arrancandolas la cabeça. Esto no solamente lo hazian los señores, y principales: pero toda la gēte, a cuya noticia venja esta fiesta, y lo mjsmo se hazia, en los calpules, y en todos los cues: todos orauan, y demandauan a este dios que les hiziesse mercedes: pues que el era todopoderoso.

La octaua fiesta moujble

En el signo, que se llamaua, ce qujaujtl: en la pri- [776]
mera casa, hazian fiesta, a las diosas que llamauan
Cioapipiltii: estas dezian que eran las mugeres que murian del primero parto, dezian que se hazian diosas, y que morauan en la casa del sol, y que quādo reynaua este sino, decendian a la tierra, y herian con diuersas emfermedades, a los que topauā fuera de sus casas. Y por esto en estos dias, no osauan salir de
sus casas. Tenjan edificados oratorios, a honrra [784]
destas diosas: en todos los barrios donde auja dos
calles: los quales llamauan cioateucalli, o por otro [778]
nombre cioateupan: en estos oratorios, tenjan las
ymagines destas diosas: y en estos dias las adornauan con papeles, que llamauan amateteujtl. En esta fiesta, destas diosas matauan a su honrra los condenados a muerte por algun delicto, que estauan en las carceles.

La nona fiesta mouible.

En el signo llamado ce qujaujtl: en la quarta casa [681●
que se llamaua nauhecatl, por ser esta casa muy mal- 777]
afortunado, matauan en ella los malhechores, que
estauan presos. Y tambien el señor hazia matar algunos esclauos, por via de supersticion: y los mercade-
res, y tratantes hazian alarde o demostracion de las [463]
joyas, en que tratauan, sacandolas, para que las viessen
todos: y despues a la noche, comjan, y beujan, to-

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[1] [the calmecac. — Analyst]

all had set forth, at the place of embarkation, thereupon all bathed, and then departed.

And the canoe they then went and beached, at its resting place, at the place for beaching canoes.

And when dawn broke, thereupon all the priests washed the blue color from their foreheads, over at the priests' bathing place.

And whoever had hidden himself away, who had fled, hiding, during the fast for Tlaloc, when men were arrested [for misdemeanors], then, when the blue stain was washed from their heads, they cast him [into the water].

And when this was done, then all departed. Then they took outside the reed mats, bringing them from the priests' dwelling. They were carried out, and they cast them behind the priests' dwelling.

Enough. Here endeth [the account of] the feast day, Etzalqualiztli.

in neacalaquJloia, njman ie ic neaaltilo, mec viviloa. 796x

Auh yn acalli, njman ic vi qujtecazque, yn jonoia, yn acaltecoian: [504]

auh yn otlatujc, njman ie ic nequatexopaco: in tlamacazque vmpa yn jnnealtiaian, tlamacazque. [515]

Auh yn aqujn çan motlati, in çan mjnax, in iquac netlalocaçaoaloia, yn axioac, qujniquac ica nequatexopaco: vmpa atlan qujpapachoa. [681] ●

Auh yn ie iuhquj mec viloatz, mec tlaqujqujxtilo, tlaceoalo in tolpepechtli in [illegible] calmecac: tlaqujqujxtilo, calteputzco contlatlaça.

Je ixqujch, vncan tlamj y, yn ilhujtl, in etzalqualiztli.

X 796 264 bore [food], who carried [food] in their cloaks, who served at table; [and] the pages. Beginning with the first-comers, he who served at table thus served them X 796 262 as many *tamales* as they could take in one hand. He gave them perchance *tamales* made of maize treated with lime; or else made with fruit; some [he gave] *tamales* of maize blossoms; or with twisted ends, or sweetened with honey. Of the *tamales*, some had twisted ends and were filled with grains of maize; some took the twisting forms of green beans and were filled with grains of maize.[2]

X 796 264 And they who served [food] looked to the small children, serving them well, with much concern. And some of the table-servers offered *tamales* only to those whom they knew. They offered them to such familiars as their kin or their friends. Twice or thrice they offered them [food].

And none might deceive in taking *tamales*. And any whom they saw trying to take *tamales* dishonestly, such, when they saw him, they punished, striking him, leaving bloody welts, with a cord made of reeds. What had been given him, they took from him all; they took all his *tamales*, his own which he had set aside, those which had fallen his lot. ● [681 283]

And some they did not come to—[those] with whom [the line] broke off, those who came last, at the end, at the tail [of the line], even though they crowded their way forward, going up among the throng. Nothing at all was offered them, for at first there was much crowding and violent forcing, because they feared that with them [the line] might break.

And those with whom [the food supply] ended all wept. They said:

"What shall we do, we who are ill-fated? Evilly hath the feast day come! To what vain end is our ill fortune? Unhappy are our little ones!"

And if they saw that, apart, perchance, [*tamales*] were still being eaten, then they hurried over there. All ran; there they betook themselves; there they jostled them, like clamoring [beggars]. Although [those who ate] came against them and beat and struck their heads, yet they went on breaking in among [the eaters], crowding among them roughly.

X 796 736 And this feasting went on for seven days. And for this reason was this done—purely that the chief might show benevolence to others by giving his bounty to

in tetlamacaxque, in tetlamamacaxque, yiacac valpeoa in tetlamacac, injc tetlamaca, in quexquich veliti qujtzitzquja tamalli, ixqujch qujtemaca, in aço tenextamalli, in anoço xocotamalli, cequj mjiaoatamalli, cequj iacacoltamalli, cequj necutamalli: auh in tamalli, cequj iacacollaoio, cequj iezococolotlaoio:

auh in tetlamacaia in qujmittaia pipiltzitzinti, cenca vel qujntlamacaia, cēca tlatlaocultiaia, auh in cequjnti tetlamacaque, çan qujteiximatcamaca in tamalli: qujmjximatcamaca in aço ivaniolque, in anoço injcnjoan, aço vppa, expa in qujntlamaca.

Auh aiac motamalaixcuepaia: auh in aqujn qujttaia motamalixcuepaznequj, in tlaittvz, qujvivitequj, qujtatacapitzvitequj tolmecatica: in quexqujch omacoca mochi qujcujlia, qujcencujlia in jtamal, inevian conmocavilia, inevian ōmonexotla.

Auh in cequjnti aoctle intech aci impan tlacotonj, ichoantin in ça tetzacuticate, in ça tlatzacuticate, in ça tlacujtlapiloa, in manel vel tetlamopitzmamali in temaxelotiuh, injc tetlan calaquj: çan njman aoctle maco: ipampa in acachto, cenca nemamaliva, cenca netotochololo, in mjmacaci, in maca ipan tlacoton.

Auh in quexqujchtin impan tlacotonj, nechoqujlilo: qujtoaia,

quennel titotolinja, onenvetz in cemjlhujtl, tle nen totlaihiioviliz motolinja in topilhoantzitzin.

Auh intla ontlachia in oc cecnj, in açoc tlaqualo, ie ne vmpa motlaloa, netlalolo, vmpa motquj, vmpa onxoqujvi, iuh qujnamopevilmatque, in manel qujnoaltoca, qujnvalhujtequj, in qujnvalquavitequj: ça cenca tevic mopetlativi, ça cenca tetlamopitzmamali.

Auh inin chicomjlhujtl in muchioaia, in tlatlaqualoia: auh injc mochioaia y, çan je tetlaoculiaia in tlatoanj, in qujntlaoculiaia in macehualtzintli: ichica ca x 796 273 condemned to die. Not now might he leave; no longer was there help for him nor [now] a second judgment; no longer had he hope.

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[2] "*Ces tamalli étaient faits avec* . . . *tenextli, chaux; xocotl, fruit; miauatl, fleur de maïs; yacacolli, espèce de maïs, et necutli, miel. Les deux autres étaient composés, le premier avec le maïs appelé yacacolli, et le second avec des fèves (etl) sèches (cocolic)*." (Jourdanet and Siméon translation of Sahagún, p. 118, n. 2).

689 When whosoever [had been tried] had been condemned, all were summoned at sundown, assembled, and set apart, that the words [of the judge] might be published everywhere.

It was said: "On the morrow they will die. All of the common folk will be moved. Some of those who drank we shall leave alone, that, verily, they may fall into fear."

They came with wrists bound together. They placed them in the midst [of the market place]. Thereupon the judges spoke, warning all, speaking of wine, which no youth might drink. Only when they matured, when they had become old, [might they drink]. And those who had youths, who already had maidens [as grown children], verily their privilege it was that they might drink wine.

● [681] [644] And thereupon, when [the judge] had delivered his judgment, then Moctezuma's executioners, his slayers, struck the backs of [the criminals'] heads. [The executioners were] the Quauhnochtli, Eznauacatl, Tiçociauacatl, Tencacoacatl, Maçatecatl, and Atenpanecatl.[12] These men were not noblemen, but only lesser officials,[13] who were under command, who were chosen and approved for their office [because of their] strength, vigor, and ingenuity, and because they spoke pleasingly.

And when [the drinkers] had been slain, then all who were reasonable were struck with terror and fright, so that they verily changed their ways. And those who were foolhardy and undisciplined, who could not be spoken to, the effeminate, the stupid—they only laughed; they only jested at the warning. They only listened to it lightly and ill. Not then did they note the words; not thus were they frightened of death.

And thereupon, when all had been slain, then all dispersed in disorder, raising a great dust, shaking out their cloaks—scattering, breaking up, dispersing, all going off to their homes. Then the place where they were became calm.

Here ended the celebration of the feast day called Uei tecuilhuitl.

tlatzontequjlilo, mjquiz, aocmo quiçaz, aoctle itzacujl, aocmo ichicomatl, aoctle ynetemachil.

In aq'n oiznaoatilox, teutlacpa in tetlalujlo, in necenquixtilox, necentecox, in çaço cĩpa ic motenevaz, in jtlatollo:

mjtoaia, muztla micoaz, izqujch tlacatl olinis in maçeoalli cequjntin tiqujncaoa in tlaõque, in ça mauiztli uetziz.

Mamailpitiuitze, tlanepantla qujntlalia: njman ie ic tlatoa, in tecutlatoque, tenonotza, itechpa tlatoa in vctli, in aiac quijz in telpuchtli: ça qujnjquac in otlachicalujque, yn oueuetique: yoan in telpuche, in ie ichpuche, vel innemac catca in tlaoanazque.

Auh in ie iuhquj yn ontzonquiz, in tecutlatolli: njman ic qujncuexcochujujxquj, yn itemicticaoan, in itequacaoan in moteçumatzin· in quauhnochtli, ieznaoacatl, ticociaoacatl, tezcacoacatl, maçatecatl, atenpanecatl: in ichoantin yn, amo tetecuti, çan achcacauhti, tlanaoatilti, tlaixquetzalti, tlaqualitalti, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, yoan iolloque, in vellatoa.

Auh yn iquac ie mictilo, ic necujtiuecho, ic mocujtiuetzi in tlacaqujni, in uel monotzanj: auh in iollotlaueliloque, yn atlanonotzalti, yn auel monotza, in tlacioaizcaltilti, in tzonteme, çan qujuetzca, çan qujcamanaloa in tenonotzaliztli, çan qujcamanalcaquj, çan caujlcaquj, avmpa qujtta in tlatolli, amo ic mauhca çonequj, in temjctiliztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onmjcoac: njman ic tlatzomonj neacomanalo, teuhtli qujquetza, netzetzelolo, cecenmanoa, xitinoa, xixitonoa, moiaoa, viujloa, viuj yn jnchachã: njman cactiuetzi yn vncan onooaia.

Nican tlamj, njcan tzonqujça, inic ilhujtl muchioaia: yn jtoca Vey tecujlhujtl.

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[12] *Quauhnochtli* is the term given the heart of the sacrificed victim. See *supra*, Chapter 21. The others may refer to the towns from which the officials came.

[13] "*Y de estos* [illegible]" (Robredo ed., Vol. 1, p. [illegible]).

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair: and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc 692
teixpan tetepacholoc. 565
684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnneno-
notzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan 701
tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiaca- 696
hoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, ichoantin quj-
tzonqujxtiaia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauh-
nochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla
qujtlacoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuch- 561
tlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein [624]
tequjtl, auh in momuztlae, in jquac ie calaquj tona-
tiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, 535
injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech [291]
in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel
conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilic-
patl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixqujch [301]
in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tla-
quauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlena-
macaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo
ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in
noujian telpuchcalli mamanca: in oncan cochia. çan
pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in conochia, momoztlae in
oc iohoan qujça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. [342]

[513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, aço 561
tlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiliztli, anoço itla icampa 681
qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtete-
qujtia in calla aço atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj,
moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman
tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntla-
tzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiuj, aço qujnmecanja,
anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujte-
quj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca
tlatoanj.

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9. *Tlacochcalcatl, tlacatecatl*: see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; [illegible], op. cit., p. 78; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 182, n. 1; III, pp. 57-58.
10. After *nemecatiliztli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *anoço* [illegible]—or adultery.

561 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before
681 the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chía, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chía, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the
[697] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

624 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
651 house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli:[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the
681 majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were
344 lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

565 Coacalli: there were established all the lords from
574 everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords
431 unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech
344 clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injc quipiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mamanca in etl, in chian, in oauhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiooachpetlatl, quauhaiooachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujcaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoaliztli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel: njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

Coacalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhcozcatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

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11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia MS* contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Teilpilcalli, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada teilpiloyan, lugar de presos, en que estaban detenidos los delincuentes de penas leves; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaba los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia MS*, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

728 which was there made. And likewise, forthwith a
651 steward was placed in office, who would watch over
and levy the tribute.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, in which it is described
643 how they chose judges.

The ruler watched especially over the trials; he
693 heard all the accusations and the complaints, the
565 afflictions, and the misery of the common folk, the
orphans, the poor, and the vassals.

And in order that the ruler might verify one's accusations and guilt, there were placed in office, and [the ruler] chose, as his judges,[5] the princes, those who were endowed with the necessities of life, those provided with drink and food—the rich; and the brave warriors and men [at arms], who had been reared in war and had gloried in all kinds of suffering and misery. In all things had their upbringing, their rearing, been sound. In their infancy they had been taught [according to] the upbringing in the priests' house, or the rearing by the masters of the youths, growing up with others, living in the [same] houses as others, engaging in war, taking captives.

And likewise the ruler thus chose and placed in office judges of the Mexicans who were not noblemen—those of sound and righteous upbringing, who had been reared in war: brave warriors and men [at arms] who in many ways had won glory by the favor of the ruler. By his grace they drank and ate. He gave them contentment and he gave them gifts; he bestowed upon them whatsoever they needed.

Such as these the ruler gave office and chose as his
[577] judges—the wise, the able, the sage; who listened
and spoke well; who were of good memory; who
spoke not vainly nor lightly; who did not make
friends without forethought nor were drunkards;
who guarded their lineage with honor; who slept
not overmuch, [but rather] arose early; who did
nothing for friendship's or kinship's sake, nor for
enmity; who would not hear nor judge a case for
a fee. The ruler might condemn them to death;
● [681] hence they performed their offices as judges right-
eously. For otherwise, these judges could find excuse
for the wrongs which they might do.

And when the ruler placed his judges in office, he gave them two court rooms, the Teccalli, where they

tzalo in calpixquj, in qujmocujtlaujz, in jpan tlatoz in tlacalaqujlli.

INJC VME PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa, in quenjn qujnpepenaia Iuezes.

In tlatoanj oc cenca qujmocujtlaujaia in tetlatzontequjliliztli, qujcaquja in jxqujch in jneteilhujl: ioan in jchoqujz, in jnentlamachiliz in jnetolinjliz in cujtlapilli, atlapalli in jcnotlacatl, in motolinja in maçeoalli:

auh injc uel qujneltiliaia in tlatoanj in teneteilhujl anoço tetlatlacul qujmjxquetzaia, qujnpepenaia in jtecutlatocahoan: ichoantin in tlaçopipilti, in tlaiecultilo in oncã in qujnj, in qujquanj, in mocujltonoa, ioan tiacaoan, oqujchti, in iauc omozcaltique, mjiec tlamãtli tecoco netolinjliztli, oqujmaujçoque: auh in jxquj tlamantlj qualli neoapaoaliztli, nezcaltiliztli, in jnpiltian oqujmomachtique, in calmecac neoapaoaliztli, in tiachcapa neoapaoaliztli, in tetlan neoapaoaliztli, in calpan tetlan nemjliztli, iauqujçaliztli, tlamaliztli.

Auh çan no iuhq̃uj, injc qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, inic qujmjxquetzaia in tecutlatoque, in mexica, in amo pipilti ichoantin in qualli iectli, inneoapaoaliz, innezcaltiliz, in iauc omooapaouhque, in tiacahoan in oqujchti, in mjiec tlamantli oqujmaujçoque, iteicneliliz tlatoanj, in jpal atli, tlaqua, in qujnpaqujltia, in qujntlauhtia, ioan in qujnmaca, in jxqujch intech monequj:

iuhque in in qujmjxquetzaia, in qujnpepenaia tlatoanj, in jtecutlatocahoan, in mjmatinj, in moxicalianj, in tlanemjlianj, in vellacaquj, in vellatoa, in motlaiollotianj, in amo ahaujllatoa, in amo cacamanaloa, in amo iliujz moocnjuhtia, amo tlaoananj, cenca qujmaujzpia in tecuiotl, amo cochinj, cenca cochiçanj amo tle qujcnjuhchioa: amo tle qujoaiolcachioa: amo tle qujtecocolicachioa, amo tlaxtlaujltica qujcaquj, anoço qujtzontequj: qujmjqujznaoatiaia, in tlatoanj: injc melaoac qujchioazque in jntequjuh, in tecutlatollj: auh intlacamo, ca ichoantin conmotzacujlitiazque in tecutlatoque, in tlein qujtlacoazque.

Auh in jqouc, oqujmjxquetz in tlatoanj: in jtecutlatocahoan qujnmacaia vntetl in tlatocacalli, in tec-

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5. *jtecutlatocahoan*: cf. *ibid.*, p. 318 (*los mayores jueces*) and p. 321 (*oidores*).

565 of not contributing. On the other hand we have a counterpart to these
651 macehuales who did not contribute: there were lords who being caught
[681] in a crime were punished by "being condemned to death" or to exile
or to being sheared, or they were made macehuales (33), that is, they were pillis from whom was taken the right to exact tribute and on whom was imposed the obligation of contributing. We saw also earlier that not all lords were exempt from contribution. We can think, nevertheless, that these cases must have been an exception, and that in general the macehuales were tributary and the pillis tribute-exacting.

We would thus have in Tenochtitlan a whole gamut of people in different situations with respect to tributation: people receiving tribute from all tribute-paying persons, people receiving tribute from the members of their calpulli, people neither tributary nor tribute-receiving, and people not tribute-receiving but tributary. According to the above data there is no doubt that there was present a marked differentiation among these levels of the population, at least. If we were to take these data only into account, of course we would have to think that the Tenochca society had classes; but if we analyze other data at our disposal, we will see the great importance which inheritance had in the belonging to each one of these levels (except that composed of the valiant in battle), which removes the class-
565 like character from them. In the first place we are told that upon
852 the birth of children "they were washed by the priests and after being
washed they [the priests] would place in the child's right hand a tiny sword and in the left, a little shield. The children of the common people were given the insignia of their occupation, and all this beneath some idol" (34). From this it is infered that the people were differentiated by their rank from birth: some were born destined to serve in war and on the frontiers (those with the little shields, who were not commoners) and were not to apply themselves to base work, and others were born destined to be laborers and to have humble and
565 vile occupations. Now this situation was hereditary since the pillis
were called "lords" (35) and were the sons and grandsons and

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33. Sahagún, II, p. 308.

34. Acosta, José de, p. 425.

565 After this review of the question of stratification, so to say, among the ancient Mexicans, it may appear strange on our part

441 from *Tlatilulcan sources* ("Prologo," pp. 4 and 5, Vol. I). This diminishes necessarily 556 in this instance, the value of his otherwise very full and highly important testimony.

565 The existence of such a body, powerful through wealth as well as through mental and intellectual faculties would, even as much as nobility, at once have destroyed the tribe as such, by breaking up the kins. The inconsistency of such a picture with the historical facts is glaring, and is shown even by the statements of modern writers. Compare for instance, Mr. H. H. Bancroft's statement of the condition of Tlatilulco after its capture by the Mexicans (Vol. V, p. 431), "heavy tributes were imposed, including many special taxes and menial duties of a humiliating nature" with his description of the state of its "merchant princes" (Vol. II, pp. 380 and 381). One fact is evident: if the traders formed occasionally, for certain purposes, clusters of their own, they selected their own leaders or directors and this was the case with trading expeditions as well as with feasts. See on feasts: *Sahagun*, Lib. IX, cap. III to XIV inclusive, Lib. I, cap. XIX, pp. 29 to 32. *Motolinia*, Trat. I, cap. VIII, p. 47. *Acosta*, Lib. V, cap. XXIX, p. 389, etc. *Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXVIII, pp. 57 and 58. Lib. XIV, cap. XXVII, pp. 586 and 587. *Clavigero*, Lib. VI, cap. VII, p. 360. Lib. VII, cap. [681] XXXVIII, p. 536, etc., and others. But as to any separate, permanent government of their own, this rests exclusively upon the authority of Sahagun, whereas it is amply proven, on the other hand, that any crime committed in trade or barter, was summarily disposed of by the regular officers of the kin or tribe without regard to the traders or merchants. We shall furnish the evidence in regard to this point in another note.

[618] That the "pochtecas" occupied but one calpulli, that of Pochtlan, is also disproved, and even by *Sahagun* himself (Lib. I, cap. XIX, p. 31). "En este calpulli donde se contaba el mercader." (Lib. IX, cap. III, p. 347): "respondiante los mercaderes principales de los barrios que son uno que se llama Pochtlan, otro Aoachtlan, y otro Atlauhco como está en la letra"). (Cap. III, p. 349) "convidaban á solos los mercaderes de su barrio; pues el que habia de ir por capitan de la compañia de los que iban, no solamente convidaba á los de su barrio, sino tambien á los que habian de ir con él." Also by *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., pp. 223 and 224).

Lastly the question of wealth amassed in such quantities as to become an influential power in the merchants' hands, is also summarily disposed of by *Sahagun*. However often he speaks of riches gathered by them, the following quotations show how it must be understood: (Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 338, Speech of one of the traders) "Cuando lleguemos á nuestro tierra, será tiempo de usar los barbotes de ambar, y las oregeras que se llaman quetzalcoyolnacohtli, y los aventaderos y ojeadores de moscas, las mantas ricas que hemos de traer, y los maxtles preciados, solo esto será nuestra paga, y la señal de nuestra valentia," (p. 341) "y que las otras presias que les dió que arriba se dijéron, solo ellos las usasen en las grandes fiestas . . . ." It thus appears that hoarding of any actual wealth was not to be expected. The lack of currency alone made it almost impossible for want of space, and gold and silver being only used for ornamental purposes and as a part of "medicine," we should mistake in expecting anything like "treasures." Here, as anywhere else, the supply was regulated by the demand, and this demand was in turn created by the numbers of the population, and by the use made of the metal. Since the latter was used only in a few ways, this had its effect on the amount also. Another cause, which is not sufficiently estimated, is found in the fact that carriers had to be used for everything, including food. Now, even if thousands went along (of which there is hardly any proof), the load of each [482] hardly exceeded sixty pounds: "y daban á cado uno de estos que tenian alquilados, para que llevasen acuestas la carga que tenian señalada, y de tal manera las comparaban que no eran muy pesadas" (Cap. III, p. 350, Lib. IX). *Don Antonio de Mendoza* ("*Avis sur les prestations personnelles et les Tamemes*, 1er Recueil of Ternaux-Compans), says in 1550, "They must not carry any loads heavier than two arrobas," or about fifty pounds. *Bartolomé de las Casas* ("*Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Yndias*," Venetia, 1643, Italian and Spanish, p. 101), complains of three to four arobas or

618 346 only established within that kin's territory, but it is also recognized even at the central medicine-lodge of the tribe.

727 A further evidence of it is found in the manner of distribution of the captives, upon the return of a successful war-party. It is known that prisoners were always offered up to the idols. Such a person, therefore, as soon as secured, became an object of "medicine;" he was so to say a sacred object. Well treated as long as he was not needed for the slaughter-block, nothing could in the end save him from sacrifice. But this sacrifice itself was not made in behalf of his captor, but on behalf and for the *kin* to whom the captor belonged. Therefore upon arrival at the pueblo, the prisoners of war were turned over to the respective calpulli as their share thus furnishing another illustration of "Separate Rites of Worship" of the kins composing the ancient Mexicans.[118]

000 Having already discussed, in a former paper, the *tenure of Lands and customs of Inheritance*[119] we now pass on to one of the most essential features of tribal society, and one which involves some of the vital points of organization and customs.

618 681 *The kin was obligated to protect and defend the persons and property of its members, and to resent and punish any injury done to them, as if it were a crime committed against the kin itself.*[120]

The impression justly prevails, that the so-called "penal code" of the Mexicans was simple but severe, death being, in most instances, the punishment of offenders. This resulted, in a great measure, from the fact that any offence against an individual became, according to rules of kinship, one against the social 618 group to which he belonged. This presupposes again a general 681 division of crimes into two classes, one of which includes such as were committed by members of the kin against other members thereof or against institutions of the same group to which they belonged. The other comprises offenses committed by inhabitants of one calpulli against those of another. It is only the first class which we take under consideration here, the second we reserve for our discussion of the mode of government. Crimes committed within the kin can be classified as against persons, against property, and against medicine.

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[118] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVII, p. 132), rather contradicts himself when he says first: that the captive belonged to his captor, but at the same time, that this captor was even killed if he *gave* away his prisoner to another man. Second: that each one had to watch his own prisoners, and at the same time they were guarded in common, and at the risk of the "barrio" or kin, which was responsible for their safe keeping. *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. III, p. 540) copies this almost literally. Much more positive and clear is *Durán* (Cap. XIX, pp. 172 and 173): "mandó Tlacaellel repartir los cautivos, porque eran muchos, por todos los barrios y que cada barrio se encargase de guardar y sustentar tantos . . . . . Los mandones de los barrios repartieron los presos á cada barrio, á como les cauia." (Cap. XXI, p. 186): "Monteçcuma los mandaua vestir y adereçar y llamauava á los Calpixques, que son los mandoncillos de los barrios, y entregauanlas, para que tuviesen cuidado dellos, diciendo que eran la merced del sol, Señor de la tierra, que los daua para el sacrificio." (Id., cap. XXII, p. 192. Cap. XXVIII, p. 227): "luego fuéron repartidos entre los barrios y encomendados á los mandoncillos." (Cap. XLII, p. 343, etc.). *Tezozomoc* ("*Cronica*," cap. XXIX, p. 45; XXXII, p. 51; XXXIII, p. 53; XXXVIII, p. 61; XLIX, p. 80, etc.), confirms Durán as might be expected.

[119] "*Tenure of Lands and Customs of Inheritance*," 11th *Report of Peabody Museum*, 1878.

[120] "*Ancient Society*," (pp. 76 and 77). Compare *H. Luden* ("*Geschichte des teutschen Volkes*," pp. 501 and 503), among the ancient Germans.

The aborigines of Mexico are generally represented as being, [181] in their every-day's intercourse, of a quiet, peaceable, inoffensive 626 disposition, contrasting strongly with their savage ferocity in warfare. This was not however due to any innate gentleness and mildness of nature, but only to the peculiar restraint enforced upon them by the law of retaliation or revenge.[131] Brawls resulting in bodily injury were therefore of extremely rare occurrence, and then it was left to the parties to settle it among themselves. In such cases, as in the event of mutual jealousy, a challenge often passed between them, and this challenge brought about an encounter at *the next campaign* when, while the warriors were engaged with the enemies of the tribe, the contestants fought as if they had belonged to opposite camps, until one of them

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[131] The character of the Mexican Aborigines is variously depicted by older writers. It appears as a mixture of childlike docility and fierce passions. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 18. Vedia, Vol. I). speaks of them according to the reports of the Tlaxcaltecans. *Bernal Diez* ("*Historia* etc.," pp. 309 and 310. Cap. CCVIII. Vedia II). specially dwells on their vices and their cruelty, as evidenced in their sacrifices. "*El Conquistador Anónimo*" (Col. de Docum., I, pp. 371, 383, 387, and 397), places great stress on their ferocity, although he also says that they are very obedient. The missionaries generally exalt their good sides—their docility and faithfulness. Compare *Motolinia* (Trat. I, cap. XIV, pp. 76 and 77). The same (Trat. I, cap. II, pp. 22 and 23), mentions, however, their vices also, attributing nearly all of them (idolatry excepted), to their inclination towards intemperance. (Trat. II, cap. IV, p. 113): "Lo que de esta generacion se puede decir es, que son muy extranos de nuestra condicion . . . ." *Zurita* (p. 197—207), is very bitter against such as treat the Indians as barbarians. (Id., 42 and 45). *Mendieta* (Lib. III, cap. XLIII, p. 290), says that they were very willing to forgive and ask to be forgiven, the latter taking place, before going to confess themselves, sometimes before all the relationship and the neighbors: "suelen algunos juntar (al tiempo que se quieren confesar) toda su parentela y vecinos con quien communican, y pedirles perdon en la manera dicha." Against this, it is reported by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, p. 585), that "these people were naturally more vindictive, than all the rest of the world." Compare also the descriptions of the character of the Mexicans in *Clavigero* (Lib. I, cap. XV).

In this rapid sketch, we have failed to find, among aboriginal 681 modes of punishment, two which were common to almost every nation of the old world, namely: whipping, and imprisonment.

Whipping, beating, or lashing was, among the Mexicans as well as amongst all American natives, known only as a *deadly insult*. It is nevertheless true that the Mendoza Codex contains pictures representing a Mexican father who applies to a son the rod of punishment.[142] Again, the candidate for the office of chief had to endure beating[143] along with the other sufferings incident to his time of trial. But no "bondsman" was ever whipped or flogged, neither was a criminal subjected to this degrading penalty, for which death would have been a thousand times preferable.[144]

The Mexicans had places of confinement—dark and gloomy 697 recesses with entrances compared to "pigeon-holes."[145] Every official building, and also the places of worship contained them. They were called: "place of the taken one," "teilpiloyan;"[146] "place of entombment or confinement," "Tecaltzaqualoyan,"[147] and "house of wood," Quauhcalli."[148] The latter, which is particularly described as a wooden cage placed within a dark chamber, was reserved for those whose doom was sealed, whether they were criminals sentenced to immediate execution, or captives to

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heredades. en recordar las ceremonias de la religion, y en contribuir á conservar la [212] memoria de los sucesos más notables, que aun con ese auxilio habria perecido, á no perpetuarse en las tradiciones recogidas por los primeros predicadores del Evangelio."

[142] "*Mendoza Codex*" (Kingsborough, Vol. I, plates LX, part 3), the boy being nine years old.

[143] *Mendieta* (Lib. II. cap. XXXVIII. p. 157). *Torquemada* (Lib XI, cap. XXIX, p. 362). *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XIII. p. 472), etc., etc.

[144] It was no dishonor to suffer tortures, but whipping was a deadly insult, as among other Indians.

[145] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 128): "Tenian las cárceles dentro de una casa oscura y de poca claridad, y en ella hacian su jaula ó jaulas; y la puerta de la casa que era pequeña como puerto de palomar, cerrada por defuera con tablas, y arrimadas grandes piedras." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXV, p. 253).

[146] *Molina* (II, p. 94), "teilpi"—el que prende o encarcela a otro"—"teilpiliztli" "prendimiento tal." (Id. I, p. 98). "prender" "niteylpia." Among the 78 edifices of the great central place of worship, *Sahagun* (Lib. II, Appendix. p. 210) mentions one place "Acatlayiacapan Veicalpulli" "esta era una casa donde juntaban los esclavos que habian de matar á honra de los Tlaloques." (Id., Lib. VIII, cap. XV, p. 304. Cap. XXI, p. 309) mentions "jails" in connection with the official house or "tecpan." That the different calpulli or "barrios" had each its places of confinement is noticed by *Durán* (Cap. XXI, p. 187): "Los calpixques los recebian y los ponian en las casas de sus comunidades ó del sacerdote de tal barrio."

[147] *Molina* (II, p. 91): "Tecalli" a vault, "casa de bóveda." Since the Mexicans had no arches, it meant actually a tomb.

[148] *Molina* (II, p. 80): "Jaula grande de palo, adonde estauan los presos por sus delictos."

681 696 And then also at that time[1] died those who were in jail, who were there for something which demanded the supreme penalty: perhaps an adulterer, or a thief, or a fire priest of whom something had been found out — perchance he had had a paramour — and who was known as an evildoer; or whatsoever sin he had committed. Also of the captives some then died.

643 761 It was said that through these Moctezuma received life. By them his fate was strengthened; by them he was exalted, and on them he placed the burden. So it was said that it was as if through them once more he were rejuvenated, so that he might live many years. Through them he became famous, achieved honor, and became brave, thereby making himself terrifying.

x 787 651 And when someone was then born,[3] they feared that the [Goddesses] might at that time descend. But later, on Three Crocodile, he was bathed; then they made his fate somewhat better, for, so it was said, Three Crocodile was a good time.

x 787 754 791 And also it was said that he who was then born a nobleman became a sorcerer, an astrologer.[4] That is to say, he was inhuman. He changed himself into something [else]; because of it he turned himself into something [else]. Perchance he had as a disguise a wild beast,[5] etc.

And if [he were] a commoner, likewise it was his work to turn himself into perhaps a turkey, or a weasel, or a dog. Whatsoever was his guise became his magic form. All his task was to assume and accumulate all manner of evil. He influenced women; he bewitched and was clever with women;

Auh yoan no iquac vncã mjquja in quauhcalco onoca, in jtla ic cate, in vei qujtzacuticatca, aço tetlanxinquj, anoço ichtecquj, in anoço tlenamacac, itla oittililoc, aço momecati, in moteneoa tlaçolchiuhque in çaço catle in ovi oqujtlaco: no iehoan in mamaltin, cequjntin vncan mjquja,

mjtoa: ca iehoan inca mozcaltiaia in motecuçoma, inca motonalchicaoaia, inca moquetzaia, inca moqujxtiaia, iuh mjtoa: iuhqujn oc ceppa inca mopilqujxtiaia, ynjc vecaoaz, inca motleiotia, momaujzçotia, motequantlalia, ic motlamauhtilia.

Auh in aqujn ipan tlacatia, qujmacacia injc vncan temoa: auh qujn jpan in ei cipactli, maltiaia, vncan achi qujqualtilia in jtonal, iuh mjtoa: ca qualcan in jpan ey cipactli.

No yoan mjtoaia: in aqujn ipan tlacatia pilli, naoalli mochioaia tlâciuhquj, qujtoznequj: amo tlacatl, itla qujmonaoaltiaia, itla ic mocuepaia, aço tequannaoale. Etc.

auh intla maceoalli, no iuhquj itequjuh catca, aço totoli, aço coçamatl, anoço chichi, ipan moqujxtiaia, in çaço tlein inecuepaliz, ynaoal mochioaia, muchi itequjuh, qujcenmama, qujcemololoa, in jxqujch tlauelilocaiotl, cioanotzquj, xochioa, cjoatlatole, tempachioace, tetlatlacuepili, teioiolmalacacho, teioiolmala-

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[3] An additional phrase in the *Real Palacio MS* will change the meaning somewhat: *ayamo maltiaya, ypampa — and when someone was then born, not then was he bathed for they feared. . . .*

[4] Angel María Garibay K.: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II, 2 (1946), p. 171.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172: "*en primer término significó . . . algo así como un 'demonio familiar,' o un 'doble' del alma, a manera del egipcio* [citing a passage in *La leyenda de los soles*] . . . *De esta primaria significación pasó a la de la 'duplicación de la persona,' o el 'desdoblamiento.' . . . Se concibe el brujo capaz de tomar las formas que él quiera, de aparecer en diversos modos y lugares, de ejecutar obras que no son del hombre común: hay en él algo más que hombre: hay un nahualli poderoso y multiplicado.*" Derivation of the word may be from *nahuali, nahuala*, "*verbo arcaico, que encontramos en muchos compuestos. Su sentido es en general 'engañar, disimular' y conviene muy bien al prestidigitador, como al mago, que son embusteros, fundados o sólo subjetivos, embaucan a las gentes. En Molina hallamos, entre otros, los verbos: nahualtequi, entrar disimulado, con cautela, secretamente: nahualcuilia, tomar algo a otro con cautela o disimulación; nahuallachia, acechar mirando, etc. Cabe dudar, sin embargo, si este verbo es el primitivo de nahualli o un derivado suyo.*"

In Hernando Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Sánchez de Aguilar, and Gonzalo de Balsalobre: *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, dioses, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (México: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1953), pp. 24 ff., it is said that "*se dedicaban al animal que el demonio les señalaba para que fuesen lo que llaman nahualli. . . .*

"*. . . quando el niño nace, el demonio por el pacto expresso o tacito que sus padres tienen con el, le dedica o sujeta al animal, que el dicho niño ha de tener por nahual, que es como decir por dueño de su natividad y señor de sus acciones o lo que los gentiles llamaban hado, y en virtud deste pacto queda el niño sujeto a todos los peligros y trabajos que padeciere el animal hasta la muerte.*

"*. . . advierto la denominacion y significacion del nombre nahualli, que puede derivarse de una de tres raices que significan: la primera, mandar; la segunda, hablar con imperio; la tercera, ocultarse o rebozarse, y aunque ay conveniencias para que se acomoden las dos primeras significaciones, me quadra mas la tercera, que es del verbo nahualtia que es esconderse cubriendose con algo, que viene a ser lo mesmo que rebozarse, y assi, nahualli dira rebozado, o disfrazado debajo de la apparencia del tal animal, como ellos communmente lo creen.*"

See also Chap. 31, n. 1, *infra*.

[1] [i.e., the day One Rain. - Analyst]

Twelfth Chapter, which telleth of still other houses. Some were only indifferent and some were in no way good.

The time of the day sign Four Wind was said to be good and bad. For then were slain those called doers of evil, the adulterers. They placed their heads in a noose and choked, strangled, or hanged them, or struck them on the back of the head, or crushed their skulls under a rock. Only at night were they killed; when it dawned, and they were already bloated, they cast them each into the water. Likewise then died some of the captives. Through them, so it was said, Moctezuma received new life (as hath been told) on [the day sign] One Rain, when [the Goddesses] descended. And this was also the time that the [aforementioned] demons and sorcerers destroyed people. And since there was fear on this day sign, Four Wind, everywhere they put cardoon[1] into the smoke openings [of the houses]. They stuffed and crammed it in. Thereby, so it was said, they frightened them away.

But the merchants,[2] those known as distinguished traders[3] and vanguard merchants,[4] who were rich, greatly esteemed and honored this [day sign]. For then they laid out in the sun[5] all the precious things which they had hidden away—the green stone, the objects made of [ordinary] green stone and resplendent green stone; the round ones, round like

Injc matlactlomome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in 787X
oc cequj calli, cequj çan tlanepantla ca, cequj vel
njman amo qualli.

In jpan nauhecatl tonalli, mjtoa qualli, ioan amo 681●
qualli, ca vncan mjctiloia, qujnquechmecanjaia, qujn-
quechtzonviaia, qujnmecanjaia, qujnpiloa, qujncuex- 684
cochvivitequj, qujnquatepipitzinja, in motepeoa tla-
çolchiuhque, in tetlaxinque, çan iooan in mjctiloia, 727
in oallatvi ie tlacujtlapoçaoa, atlan qujmonmamaiavi.
No ioan cequjn vncan mjquja in mamalti, iuh mj-
toa: ca iehoan inca mozcaltiaia in Motecuçoma (in
iuh omoteneuh) ipan ce qujauitl in vncan temoa: 761
auh ie no vncan tepopoloaia, in omoteneuhque tla-
tlacateculo, in nanaoalti, auh injc imacaxoia, in ipan
in tonalli nauecatl in tlecalco noujian caaqujaia, in
tlacateculoxocovitztli, qujpopotzaqujaia, qujcacacatz- 789
tzaia: iuh mjtoa ca ic qujnpeviaia. 824

Auh in iehoantin pochteca, in moteneoa: acxoteca, 441
in oztomeca, in motlacamati, iê qujveimatia, qujma-
viztiliaia, ca vncan qujtotonjaia, in ixquich tlaçotli 527
qujtlatiaia, in chalchiujtl, in chalchiuhtli, in quetzal-
chalchiuhtli, in ololiuhquj, in tomatic, in acatic, in ie 556
ixqujch cozcatl, in cozcapetlatl, in petlaoac, in pitza-
oac, xiujtl: auh in jxqujch nepapan ivitl, in quetzalli

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1. *[illegible].*—Francisco J. Santamaría: *Diccionario general de americanismos* (Méjico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942), Vol. II, p. 154: *jocuiste—Bromelia pinguin L. "En Méjico, nombre vulgar de una planta de las regiones tropicales, que crece como un metro de altura y [illegible] hojas semejantes a las de la piña. . . . propiedad antiescorbútica."*

2. Translatable also as "men of Pochtlan," a *barrio* of Tenochtitlan occupied by merchants, whose gods were Tiçana, Macuilocelotl, Xihui, Tlati, Xilo, Tepuztecatl, Opochtzinhuatl, Chicome xochitl, Xochiquetzal, Yiacatecutli (Arturo Monzón, *op. cit.*, p. 50). See also Alfonso Caso: *Instituciones indígenas precortesianas* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1954), pp. 23-24, for a résumé of the social and economic importance of the *pochteca*.

3. *Acxotecatl* or *pochtecatlailotlac*, *"mayor o principal entre los mercaderes . . . tanto como si dijéramos que es gobernador de los mercaderes, y estos dos nombres . . . se atribuyen al que es mayor principal, gobernador, o señor, o que es casi padre y madre de todos los mercaderes"* (Sahagún, Garibay ed., X, 16, 5).
Jena, *op. cit.*, p. 248 (citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 60): *"alter chichimekischer Volksstamm in der südöstlich des Sees von Mexiko gelegenen Landschaft Chalco."* Acxotlan was a merchant's *barrio* in Tenochtitlan; gods were Naui Ehecatl, Chiconquiauitl, Xomocuil, Cochimetl, Yacapitzauac, Nacxitl, Chalmecaciuatl (Monzón, *loc. cit.*).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, "The Gods," p. 18 and n. 5. Jena, *op. cit.*, p. 338, citing Seler, *Ges. Ab.*, II, 1070: *"Mann aus dem Orte Oztoman . . . , der auf Wanderschaft gehende Klein und Marktshändler sowohl als der auf weite Reisen gehende Grosskaufmann, auch Kaufmann i. A."*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 165.